1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11*
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[14]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

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[15]Smith, op. cit., pp. 637-640, citing Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1939/40, states that there were 687 church marriages for each civil marriage in Bahia. The number of common law marriages is, obviously, not precisely known. Brazilian statutes do not permit divorce from civil marriage.

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[16]The chief exception to this social pattern is during Carnaval, when people of all classes "let themselves go." However, it is mainly the adolescents of the upper class who, for the moment, escape from the rigid social code of their class.

[17]As a consequence of the high mobility of the lower class, many of these community or neighborhood identifications are transitory. However, because of the free social intercourse within the class, the local relationships are quickly established and easily maintained. The core of local identification and of the community or neighborhood seems to be maintained primarily by the more stable upper-stratum of the class.

[18]The industries, trading houses, and exporters of Salvador are concerned to a large degree with agricultural products.

[19]For the United States, see Smith, op. cit., p. 221. For Brazil, calculated from the 1940 census.

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[20]A special statement is required because the problems of deriving data for population in this region profoundly affect the reliability of the demographic analysis. At the time this analysis was made, only incomplete and preliminary population data from the 1950 census had been published. Total population data by political units—municípios and distritos—and by "urban" places were available. It was necessary to estimate the agricultural occupational data. The 1950 agricultural labor force was projected from the 1940 data on the basis of changes in the rural population. Because the agricultural labor force and the rural population of which it is a part are subject to approximately the same social and economic forces, it was assumed that the change in the latter could be used to project the 1950 size of the former. The tables showing the derivation of the agricultural labor force for 1950 are based upon this procedure.

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[21]In 1940 the composition of this occupational group—based upon a combination of population census and agricultural census data—for the state of Bahia was approximately as follows:

Independent operators	44 per cent
Members of family	27 per cent
Employees	24 per cent
Employers	2 per cent
Non-owner administrators	2.5 per cent

Thus less than 5 per cent of the agricultural labor force were administrators; the others were either cultivators, vaqueiros, or agricultural laborers. In the Recôncavo the administrative group probably was relatively smaller.

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[22]In a region of such large statistical areas and diverse physical resources, it is almost inevitable that mean figures for some municípios, such as Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Irará, or, most of all, Santo Amaro,

will take the girl to his family gatherings and that he will be invited to hers, so that their lives continue to be within the family, though now within two families. There are so few public places of entertainment in Salvador, other than the movies, that the couple is seldom alone. Dating nearly always takes place in family circles, so there is little need for a formal chaperone. Courtship continues until the boy has finished school (if it began that early, as it sometimes does), or is settled in business, at which time an engagement may be announced. Once the couple are engaged (noivos), they are allowed greater freedom; this does not, however, amount to much, as their social activities continue to be confined within the family. If for some reason the boy or the girl goes away for a time, the one left at home is invited to all family parties just as though both were there. The engagement period does not last very long--not as long as the gostando period, which may extend for two years--for once engaged, a couple is considered to be serious about marriage, which then takes place as soon as possible.

The wedding, always in Salvador, is both a religious and a civil ceremony. The former is a formal, fashionable church ceremony followed by a reception and luncheon, before the bride and groom leave for their honeymoon. The civil wedding takes place in the bride's home shortly before the religious ceremony. Only the godparents and closest relatives attend this ceremony. After marriage the couple usually set up their own home, but if this is not possible they may live with one of their in-laws. This, however, is undesirable, and often the wedding is postponed until the couple can have their own home. The parents on both sides help toward this end as much as they can by getting the young man settled in a suitable position. Family connections are extremely important throughout Class A in placing young people in business or a profession.

As a rule a child is born to the young couple by the end of the first year of marriage, and the compadres (godparents) are chosen from close members of the two families, at least for the first child. Succeeding children may have close friends of the father as godparents. Children are named after family members of preceding generations or--as has happened in some cases--after a much-loved slave. The old pattern was for the couple to continue having children regularly as long as the wife was able to, but the trend is now for each generation

2: Hutchinson E-4.5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

and the social forces compelling them to conform to this ideal are strong enough to keep them at home.

To some extent the Class B families take as their pattern the older traditions of the upper-class families. The father is the most important person in the home and has the final word in all decisions. His wife is not his equal in a social sense and plays a much more passive role than the women of classes A, C, and D. This, however, is slowly changing, for married couples of the younger generation are beginning to share more activities, such as going to the movies, visiting friends, or going on short trips to Salvador. But this is a recent development and applies only to four couples in the town. The others still maintain the old pattern whereby the man attends social functions while his wife remains home. On occasion of a farewell party, invitations were carefully extended to the married couples in Class B at the author's instigation. Of the thirteen couples invited, only four came together. In the other cases only the husbands came. Among the others, one of the husbands was away, and his wife would not come to the party even though her mother, father, and two sisters did. It is still common for the wife either to remain discreetly silent or to disappear altogether when her husband has visitors at home, and among the older families the father and his guests are served separately at meals, the women of the household eating afterwards alone.

Family life in rural Class B follows to some extent that of the town family of the same class. The father is the central figure in the family and makes all decisions. He travels about the community while his wife remains at home. The sons of overseers, however, are seldom sent to Salvador to school, although the sons of Class B families living at the factory usually are, at least for a short time. So far, however, none of them has entered a profession.

As has already been stated, the women of rural Class B lead much the same kind of life as the women in Class C, with whom they associate. Daughters are guarded carefully, while sons are placed in some advantageous position whenever possible, frequently through the aid of the plantation owner or usineiro. They may enter the factory office, and in several cases they have been set up in business on the plantations, running small stores which belong to their fathers.

A daughter of Seu Paulo, the overseer of the Fazenda das Moças, married the son of the overseer on a neighboring

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[Class B Families]

[Class C Families]

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•585 plantation during the author's stay in the community, and her
[114] father gave her a large wedding. The wedding party left the plantation early in the morning in an oxcart decorated with white crepe paper, and proceeded to the town of Vila Recôncavo. The wedding was held in the Franciscan chapel. The townspeople did not attend the wedding or show any interest in it. Immediately after the ceremony the wedding party started back to the plantation, a five-mile trip. As each plantation nucleus was passed the cart stopped in front of the overseer's house, and small glasses of rum were passed to the guests, and the happiness of bride and groom was toasted.

[342] On arrival at the new brick house which the groom's father had presented to the couple, the bride went into the kitchen
[431] to help her mother and the other women who were preparing the luncheon. Then she passed small glasses of wine to the
[114] guests. With the exception of Dona Sinhá and the author, the guests were all overseers from the neighboring plantations. The female guests were relatives of the bride. The meal con-
[262] sisted of everything the region had to offer: fish, shrimp, salads; roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey; potatoes and farina; followed by fruits, desserts, and coffee. After all the men had eaten and moved into the living room to chat, the bride and the other women sat down in the dining room to eat.

*565 In a sample of eighteen Class B households (eleven urban
585 and seven rural), fifteen couples were married by both civil
583 and religious ceremonies. The remaining three couples were
[125] simply living together, a state known in northern Brazil as amasiado. In Class C a sample of ninety-five households (forty-one urban and fifty-four rural) showed twenty-three couples in the amasiado state, twenty-two married by civil and religious ceremonies, thirty-four married in church only, and eight by civil marriage alone. Eight of the couples sampled did not answer the question. In Class B, one partner in each of the three couples living in the amasiado state was married to someone else whom he or she had left.

585 Nineteen civil marriages were performed in the entire coun-
583 ty (population over 11,000) during the year of 1950. They are
[161] shown below by age group. Fifty religious marriages were performed during the same year throughout the five parishes
[127] attended by the Franciscans. Because of differences in the manner of recording the two types of marriages, however, no correlation could be worked out as to how many marriages were both civil and religious. There are no statistics avail-

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[Class C Families]

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able for the total number of marital unions formed during the years, so it is impossible to know the percentage of amasiado unions throughout the entire population.

TABLE 8
CIVIL MARRIAGES BY AGE GROUPS

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Males		Females	
minors under 18	1	minors under 15	2
18-22	4	15-19	6
23-27	6	20-24	7
28-32	5	25-29	2
33-37	1	30-34	1
38-43	2	35-39	1
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There are occasions when a couple marry in the church only after having lived together for many years, at which time their children may be the principal witnesses at the wedding. Such a wedding always gives the couple a feeling of satisfaction and well-being, for there is sometimes a certain shame attached to the amasiado state, especially when it is necessary to fill in official forms such as birth registration, the census, or registration at the Institute of Vila Recôncavo. A woman who can say "meu esposo" or "meu marido" (my husband) feels a certain superiority over the one who can only say "meu homem" (my man).

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The attitude toward children in Class C is somewhat ambivalent. Married women with as many as ten or twelve children may say they never wanted children, but simply "took what God sent." Frequently little girls pray that their mother will have another child so they may take care of it. All girls from the age of seven to thirteen or fourteen seem to like small children. There are few men who do not want children. Even though the mother may say she did not want them, she always seems pleased with them after they are born, and children, especially boys, are well loved and spoiled. Part of the women's gossip is often about another woman who is about to have a baby, and many women with five or six children of their own accuse others of having children "como ratos" (like rats) because they have eight or nine.

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There is no use of contraceptives in Class C, although they

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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them odd stories which were calculated to strike their imagination."[38]

Public opinion expected of masters the acceptance of an offer made to manumit an infant on the occasion of his baptism.[39] It also became customary, when marriages were being solemnized in the master's family, to free one or two favorite slaves.[40] Masters frequently declined the money proffered by a Negro for his purchase and granted his freedom without payment.[41] Slaves of the religious orders, it is said, considered themselves to belong to the saints themselves and were never sold.[42] The law adopted in 1809 to protect the property of sugar planters against attachment for debt also provided that slaves need not be sold separately from an estate to satisfy a creditor's claims. Thus the master could not be forced to dispose of his slaves, unless the debt amounted to the value of the entire estate; and, as Koster has pointed out,[43] the slave in this way was advanced, in some degree at least, toward the condition of a serf.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] "Another custom which was advantageous to the slave was that of *alforrias na pia*, which was accomplished with the insignificant amount of 5 to 50 milreis and never was refused; this custom became very common, especially when the child had a light skin" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255). Koster gives the price in Pernambuco early in the nineteenth century as £5 and says that "In this manner, a considerable number of persons are set at liberty; for the smallness of the price enables many freemen who have had connections with female slaves to manumit their offspring; and instances occur of the sponsors performing this .... act. Not infrequently female slaves apply to persons of consideration to become sponsors to their children, in the hope that the pride of these will be too great to allow of their godchildren remaining in slavery" (*op. cit.*, I, 195–96).

[40] Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), p. 111.

[41] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. [42] *Ibid.* [43] *Op. cit.*, I, 329 n.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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crowded. They were obliged to dispense with the mass, for they had no priest; the service therefore consisted merely of a long litany and a few hymns. There was placed on the altar a small image of the infant Christ, the "Menino Deus" as they called it, or the Child-God, which had a long ribbon depending from its waist. An old white-haired Negro led off the litany, and the rest of the people joined in the responses. After the service was over they all went up to the altar, one by one, and kissed the end of the ribbon. The gravity and earnestness shown throughout the proceedings was remarkable.[83]

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Slaves were often married according to the forms of the Catholic church, and the banns were published in the same manner as for free persons.[84] Debret has preserved a visual impression of such a ceremony being performed in the house of wealthy Brazilians.[85]

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As Freyre has pointed out,[86] priests continually urged upon white masters the advantage of conceding to the Negroes their African pastimes. A Jesuit, writing in the eighteenth century, advised slaveowners not only to permit but even to encourage the *festas* of the blacks, saying: "You should not make it difficult for them to choose their king, and to sing and dance as they desire on certain appointed days of the year, and legitimately to enjoy themselves on Sunday afternoons when in the morning they have executed the ceremonies in honor of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, or the guardian-saint of the chapel." Slaves were granted permission to use during public festivals—at first the Vespers of Reis, later Christmas, New Year's, and Carnival—

[83] Henry W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* (reprint, London, 1892), p. 88.

[84] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 302. The consent of the master was required and the ceremony could not be performed until "the requisite prayers have been learned, the nature of the confession . . . . understood, and the sacrament can be received."

[85] *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, Pl. 15. [86] *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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state. Unions were not confined to the lower classes but extended into even the upper social ranks, not only of the English, but of other European nationalities as well.[14]

Miscegenation and interracial marriage are perhaps always incidental to the expansion of a racial frontier. As Park has pointed out: "Transplanting a people, like transplanting any other organism, is a ticklish business, and interbreeding is one way of successfully accomplishing the transition."[15]

Thus, the Brazilian society of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came to be founded largely upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers.[16] At least this was generally true of the lower classes, but it was by no means limited exclusively to them.[17]

These *de facto* unions were gradually "regularized by the church into Christian marriage," thus lending the powerful sanction of the ecclesiastical authority, chief guardian of the mores in a sacred society, to interracial crossing. The church was joined in this policy by the state, which legalized mixed unions. Thus, neither church nor state injected any "strain for consistency"[18] into the colonial mores which had grown up quite naturally in response to the exigencies of colonization but instead themselves offered support to the "definitions of the situation"[19] already laid down in the prevailing attitudes.

[14] See Cedric Dover, *Half-caste* (London, 1937), pp. 117 *ff.*

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[17] E.g., the *mamelucos* descendants of Caramurú married into prominent families.

[18] See William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

[19] See W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 8–9.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Moema, who, exhausted, perished in the billows of the sea. This unhappy Indian maiden is still today sung by the poets. . . . .

On returning from Europe, Catherina Paraguassú, endowed with a beauty that was first among her people, performed the duty of a true heroine by receiving as her guest the first Governor-general, Thomé de Souza. She and her husband made the native Indians, without the least hesitancy, subject themselves to the Portuguese dominion. And it is from Diogo Alvares Caramurú and Catherina Paraguassú that the ancient and noble house of Garcia d'Avila, so celebrated for its wealth and civic services, is descended.

Subsequent to the arrival of Thomé de Souza, Diogo had been legally married to Paraguassú. And the church soon saw to it that most, if not all, of the similarly informal unions between European men and native Indian women were "regularized in Christian marriage."

Although incoming Portuguese colonists and adventurers had readily entered into informal unions with native women, they appear at first to have hesitated before actual marriage. It was the Jesuits, we are told, who "managed to conquer in the early colonists the repugnance which they originally held toward marriages with Indian women."[5] "Most of them [the Portuguese] here," wrote Padre Nobrega from Pernambuco in 1551, "have for a long time kept Indian women from whom they have had children; but to marry them was considered a scandalous thing (*grande infamia*). They are now marrying and assuming a proper life."[6] At any rate, intermarriage eventually became a firmly established custom, sanctioned by both church and state.

Although the scarcity of European women, so notable during the first century of colonization, had by the early

[5] Gilberto Freyre, *Casagrande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 302.

[6] Padre Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549–1560* (Rio, 1886), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.* p. 302.

[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./

The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners reserved for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorporate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an important role in the establishment of good relations between races in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized, catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numerous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts" and became "Christians," with the same title as the European colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious discrimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the Africans of different origins were able to understand one another. They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

[SALVADOR]

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*563 565 554 571 [124] [829] of Bahia, had some difficulty approaching some of the persons thus mentioned. In certain cases, however, he was able to verify that the imputations mentioned above are nothing but the informants' reactions of resentment against people who are much higher or whom they judge superficially because they do not know them personally. A number of persons questioned even showed great interest in race relations, declaring they had read numerous Brazilian or foreign books, had seen films on this subject, and liked to discuss this problem with persons belonging to the same type and to the same professional and social status as they; there were even two who declared they had thought a good deal about writing down their observations on this subject. In only one case a mulatto official replied with a certain irritation that this problem was not important and that the Blacks of Bahia did not elevate themselves socially because they were very "backward and bold."

*563 565 /39/ Interracial Marriages

For colored people, interracial marriage is a means of reaching the higher classes. Individuals with a lighter skin have the greatest possibilities of becoming white socially, and marriage between colored people and Whites gives the former prestige and offers them the prospect of having children closer to the preferred type.

*563 •[585] No law in Brazil forbids marriage between members of different races. The candidates for a civil or religious marriage simply present themselves before the authorities of the State or of the Church, provided with the necessary papers, such as certificate of birth or baptism, in which the type or the color are mentioned only for the purposes of identification.

The number of marriages between individuals who differ with regard to color is very high in Bahia. Out of 222 unions concluded [162] some years ago, the man and woman were of the same color in 34 o/o of the cases; in 43 o/o the man was darker than the woman,